



BRILL

Armenian Epic Tradition and Kurdish Folklore

Author(s): Sargis Haroutyunian

Source: *Iran & the Caucasus*, Vol. 1 (1997), pp. 85-92

Published by: [BRILL](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4030741>

Accessed: 24/02/2014 23:16

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



BRILL is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Iran & the Caucasus*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

ARMENIAN EPIC TRADITION AND KURDISH FOLKLORE

SARGIS HAROUTYUNIAN
Yerevan

The first indirect data concerning the Armenian-Kurdish folkloric correspondences are attested in "Sharaf-nameh", the well-known monument of Kurdish history compiled in the XVI century by Sharaf-khan prince of Bidlis (*see Haroutyunian-Bartikian*).

Speaking about the genealogy of Kurdish governors of Bidlis and Sasun¹, the author adduces some interesting stories, according to which the Kurdish sovereigns of Sasun and Bidlis are descended from twin brothers Izzadin and Zyaddin, both, as he says, from the Sasanid royal house.

From the capital of Armenia, Akhlat they came to Bidlis, which was under the government of a Georgian viceroy, named David. They won from him the Bidlis *vilayet* (district) and Hazo (a town in Sasun) that also belonged to him. Izaddin becomes the governor of Bidlis and Zyaddin of Hazo. Then Zyaddin conquered the city of Bidlis by a ruse, leaving Sasun to his brother, Izaddin. From the latter descend the Izazani or Azizani clan of Kurdish governors of Sasun, and from his brother - the governors of Bidlis who are called **Diyadins** (*Bidlisi*, 3(3), 4(1,2)).

These traditional stories, wide-spread among the Kurds of Sasun and Bidlis in the late Middle Ages, are typologically comparable to those occurring in early Medieval Armenian folklore in Sasun and the bordering regions about the origin of Armenian princely families, which being digested by the epic tradition have become a part of the Armenian epic "the Heroes of Sasun" ("David of Sasun"), consisting, in its first branch, of the cycle of the brothers, Sanasar and Baghdasar.

The origin of the princely houses of Sasun and adjoining areas in Armenian Medieval historic tradition in some variants is also connected with the names of royal brothers of alien stock, who took shelter in Armenia. According to Movses Khorenatsi (V century) the *badešxs* (princes, governing in the Armenian frontier regions) of Aghdznik province, as well as the **Arcruni** and **Gnuni nakharar** (princely) clans, who were sovereigns of the South-eastern part of Sasun, are descended from the twin sons of the Assyrian king Sennacherib - Sharezer and his brother - who took shelter in Armenia (*Khorenatsi*, I, 231). The Khorenatsi's report is based on the Bible and local traditional stories. According to Biblical tradition, Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, when worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, was slain by his sons Adrammelech and Sharezer, who "escaped into the land of Armenia" (*II Kings*, 19:37).

This information has an explicit historical background and is corroborated by different cuneiform sources. According to "Babylonian Chronicles" (681 B.C., November-December, or, according to N. Adontz, January), the Assyrian king Sennacherib was killed in a mutiny by his own son. The cuneiform records of Sennacherib's other son, Essarhaddon, who replaced him on the throne, supplement the mentioned historical evidence (*cf. Luckenbill*, p. 63, *Adontz*, p. 131).

Based on the Armenian tradition and data from the cuneiform records the Armenian historian thought that the patricides, after suffering a defeat by Essarhaddon, escaped to Shupria (Sasun), which in ancient times was a sanctuary for Assyrian and Urartian insurgents, due to its mountainous inaccessibility (*HAP*, pp. 423-434).²

Irrespective of the historical reliability of these data, the story of the twin brothers in the Armenian Medieval historical tradition has been entirely nationalized, so that, according to the XI century Armenian author, Aristakes Lastivertsi, the older name of Sasun-Sanasunk comes from the name of its founder - Sanasar, while the X-century historian Tovma Arcruni

mentions that the inhabitants of Sasun "call themselves Sanasnayk" (*Lastiverts'i*, p. 85; *Arcruni*, p. 121).

As it was already mentioned above, this very story became a part of the Armenian epic, "The Heroes of Sasun" (David of Sasun), forming the subject of its first cycle, according to which the founders of Sasun were twin brothers, who came into conflict with their heathen (or Muslim) father (or stepfather), killed him, escaped to Armenia, and after adventurous wandering, took shelter in Sasun, built the fortress and town and became founders of the heroic clan.

In some variants of the epic, the father of the twins is the Assyrian king Sennacherib, or just an alien heathen king. In the greater part of the legends, mythical ancestors are a variety of hegemonous intruders, the pagan or Muslim Caliph of Baghdad, sometimes the Kurdish beg of Vostan, other times the son of the king of Adam (Iran), or Pasha, the son of the pagan king of Egypt (Meser), or the heathen Melik (prince) of India, or the Christian prince Sukias, etc. One of the twin brothers appears in the most of the versions of the epic as Sanasar, sometimes - Sinam-Kerim, or Sinam-Sarim. The second brother is named Abamelik, Adnamelik, Melik, or sometimes - Abdel-K'erim and Sene-K'erim, but more often - Baghdasar.

Their father or stepfather is always an alien king or prince, while their mother is often a daughter of a Christian ruler. In all cases, the brothers, founders of Sasun, are descended from prominent royal families and, according to the epic, have discovered mountainous Sasun to settle and populated it. The name Sasun derives from the enormous efforts put into the building of the fortress, or from its stony construction with columns (as the epic says: "Stone on stone, column on column, there was built **San-sun**" (Arm. "column on column" - **Sasun**)).

The successor of these brothers, founders of Sasun, is the hero David who is the most celebrated epic sovereign of Sasun, the whole epic "The Heroes of Sasun" is usually called by his name ("David of Sasun"). Perhaps, this hero David in Kurdish medieval tradition became the prototype of the Georgian sovereign or viceroy of Sasun, from whom, according to the same tradition, Izaddin and Zyaddin won back the province. But about that a little later.

In early Annenian medieval tradition, there are two variants of the ethology of Taron and bordering Sasuni Mamikonian nakharar clans. These are attested in the works of Movses Khorenatsi (II, 81) and a VII-century Armenian historian, Sebeos (IV). According to them, two brothers, Mamik and Konak (Khorenatsi's **Mamkon**) were Chinese princes. Revolting against the king of China (**čēnac' t'agavor**), they were defeated, fled and took shelter with Artavan, the king of Persia. When the king of China, summoned the insurgents, the Persian king sent the brothers to his relative - the Armenian king. At that time, the nahapet' (chieftain) of **Silkunik'** revolted against his suzerain, the Armenian king. With the latter's consent, the brothers killed the insurgent nahapet' and the king presented them with his patrimony and made them nakharars. Mamik and Konak settle in Taron and on Sim mountain (in Sasun). They are the predecessors of the great Mamikonian nakharar clan. These stories partially formed also the introductory section of the early Medieval Armenian epic "The Persian War", which is almost the same as the story of Sanasar and his brother in "The Heroes of Sasun".

Another variant of this legend is preserved in the "History of Taron" by Hovhan Mamikonian, according to which, the Indian princely brothers, Demetr and Gisaneh, arranged a betrayal against their king. Then, pursued by the royal army, they escaped and took shelter with the Armenian king Vagharshak, who presented them the Taron principedom. They built the town of Vishap in Taron. Years passed and the king killed the two brothers and gave the principedom to their three sons, who built three towns and named them in honour of themselves - Kuař, Melti and Hotean. They also established a temple in the memory of their parents on Mount K'ark'e in Taron (*Mamikonian*, pp. 107-109).

So, according to the early Medieval Armenian written sources, there are three versions of the legend on the origin of the princely houses of Taron and Sasun, which, in spite of differences, have a series of evident coincidences. First of all, the subject of the alien royal or princely brothers, who revolt against their king, or kill him; being pursued, escape and find shelter in Armenia, receiving from the Armenian king patrimonies and becoming founders of notable nakharar houses.

Most probably this very subject also underlies the basis of Sharaf-khan's story on the origin of the Kurdish sovereigns of Sasun and Bidlis: two princely brothers (from the Sasanian royal family who escape from an alien world (Iran), come to Armenia - Akhlat (which is mentioned as the Capital city of Armenia) and win from the Georgian governor of Bidlis and Sasun (Hazo), David, the mentioned two provinces and become the founders of Kurdish princely clans, named Azizani and Diyadini.

All these legends have a common basis, the myth of the divine twins. Though the fact of being twins has not explicit representation in the most of the Armenian and Kurdish stories except "The Heroes of Sasun" epic cycle, their common typological outline is identical to the main constituents of the international topic about the divine twins. According to it, the twins have divine origin (Armenian Sanasar and his brothers were born from two handfuls of water that their mother Covinar drank from a spring, miraculously opened in the sea), they quarreled with sovereigns of their own country, escape from there, wander in foreign lands, found a new country, town, state and become sacred predecessors for new and cultural heroes (*cf. Shternberg*).

This universal topos, acquiring nuances peculiar to different historical periods, and on the level of historical tradition being connected with the origin of governing houses of old Armenian provinces Taron and Aghdznik' (modern Sasun and Bidlis are a part of it), has become the basis of the etiological legends with different names for the heroes.

One can notice different chronological strata in these legends. So, the origin of the Armenian eldest princely houses - Arcruni, Gnuni and the *badešxs* of Aghdznik' are connected with the sons of the Assyrian king Sennacherib, who killed their father, and according to Khorenatsi, were settled in Armenia by Paruir Skayordi, who, according to B. Piotrovski, was the governor of the Arme-Shupria country (Sasun and Aghdznik were a part of it) in the VII century B.C. (*HAP, pp. 429-430*), the origin of the new owners of Taron and Sasun - Mamikonians (including Demetr and Gisaneh), is connected with early medieval historical events, while the mentioned Kurdish traditional stories about the origin of Kurdish governors of Sasun and Bidlis going back to the late Middle Ages, to the period of the rise of the Khlat' (Akhlat) Shah-Armen's dynasty (XI-XIII centuries) (Sharaf-khan mentions Akhlat as the capital city of Armenia, where the Izaddin and Zyaddin brothers came from to govern over Bidlis and Sasun).

These legendary events correspond to some extent to the real historical chronology. Taron and Sasun, famous for their sacred centers in ancient times, the Middle Ages and even in the recent period (Ashtishat of Taron in the pagan past, monasteries of St. Karapet in Sasun and the Marut'a St. Virgin in the Christian Era), were among the most important centres of the formation of the Armenian ethnos, one of the first Armenian State units. During all periods of the history of the Armenian nation this area with distinguished Armenian princely houses played a significant role in the consolidation and preservation of Armenian independent statehood, and always was notable for its heroic, staunch struggles against all kinds of alien aggressors and tyrants.

This important role, undoubtedly, encourages the circumstance that Taron and Sasun appear as constant epic centres in old and new Armenian heroic tradition (in the epics "The Persian War", "The War of Taron" and "The Heroes of Sasun"). All of the old and new Armenian epic stories and cycles were written around heroes, who lived and acted in that very area. And it is quite natural that the rich epic traditions, connected to these centres

during the whole history of the Armenian epic tradition transferred to representatives of other nations, recently settled in that territory.

It is a proved fact that the migrations of the Kurds from the Northern parts of Mesopotamia towards the Armenian Highland, took place in the X-XI centuries A.D. (first phase) and then from the first decades of the XVI century A.D. (second phase) became an overwhelming process (*in detail: Asatrian*). But the Kurds can not be traced in Sasun until the end of the XIII century. Probably, the Kurds appeared in Sasun at the end of the XIII century, because then there is some mention about their presence in the Sasun mountains (*Abeghian, pp. 362, 371*), which are gradually conquered by them. As evidenced by the mid XVI century Portuguese travellers, A Tenreiro and M. Afonso, who visited Bidlis, Khlat and Sasun, the central city of Sasun, Hazo was under a Kurd's domination. "Ses habitants, - writes Afonso, - au nombre de cinq à six cents, sont pour la plupart Arméniens et chrétiens, ils sont vêtus comme ceux dont j'ai déjà porté et utilisent la même langue,... Ils s'entendent aussi avec les Kurdes (musulmans), nombreux dans le pays, malgré la différence de langue" (*Gulbenkian-Berbérian, p. 177*). This common life of Sasun Armenians and Kurds implies also large-scale possibilities of intellectual contacts. We saw in Sharaf-khan's records that, according to the Late Medieval Kurdish tradition, "Izaddin and Zyaddin won the Sasun fortress from a Georgian named David" or, in another variant, "they say that at that time, the governor of Bidlis and Hazo was certain David, one of the Georgian viceroys. The Ruzak family won Bidlis *vilayet* and Hazo from him".³

We can see from the evidence of the Kurdish historiographer's contemporary, the Portuguese traveler M. Afonso, that Sharaf-khan's words refer to the epic, David. Afonso, speaking about the passion of the inhabitants of Hazo for hunting, immediately adds that "C'était dans cette ville (*i.e. in Hazo - S.H.*) que vivait presque toujours (parce qu'il aimait beaucoup la chasse) ce roi David géant dont nous avons parlé, qui régnait sur l'Arménie et détruisit la ville d'Aglat (Akhlát). Il y avait là aussi sa femme, également géante, du nom de Handut, elle portait aux jambes (comme le voulait la coutume) des anneaux d'or si grands et si larges qu'un homme eût pu y passer la tête et le corps. Elle est enterrée dans un château à une "journada" de la ville, et le Kurde qui y régnait - celui qui tua son oncle, comme nous l'avons dit⁴ - a ôté du tombeau ces anneaux, qui étaient enterrés avec elle, et de la tombe du roi une croix d'or, appelée en arménien *surp nixan* (*i.e. nšan*), c'est-à-dire le Saint signe, car elle avait tant de pouvoir que, quand il emportait cette croix à la guerre, aucune arme ne pouvait l'atteindre... Ce roi David était un seigneur très grand et très puissant, qui régnait non seulement sur toute l'Arménie, mais aussi sur de nombreuses autres régions jusqu'à la Turquie, et le sultan du Caire lui payait tribut. Tout le district de cette ville, qui est grand, se nomme Sanson (*i.e. Sasun*), d'une part en raison du grand pouvoir et de la force de ce roi (*i.e. David - S.H.*), qui y vécut toujours, de l'autre parce que l'on conserve dans un château tout près de là une lance et un bouclier qui lui ont appartenu" (*Gulbenkian-Berbérian, p. 179*).

Describing Khlat (Akhlát) city, both Afonso and Tenreiro maintain that it was destroyed "par un roi d'Arménie du nom de David pour éviter que n'en profitent les Turcomans, qui étaient alors en train de conquérir la contrée". And the foundation of the fortress of Akhlát and nearby buildings with cupolas was traditionally ascribed to David (*Gulbenkian-Berbérian, pp. 179-180*). These data almost correspond to the Armenian oral tradition about cemeteries near the site of ancient Akhlát, recorded in the mid XIX century. According to it, these are the cemeteries of alien enemies, slaughtered by David of Sasun (*Ghanelanian, p. 274*). The Evidence of these Portuguese travellers makes clear that the epic of David was so wide-spread in Akhlát and especially in Sasun in the middle of the XIV century, that even foreign travelers were told about it. Many of the details transmitted by them are very similar to the subject and episodes of variants of the "Heroes of Sasun" epic recorded much later, in the XIX century: the power of David Khandut. David's passion for

hunting, the power of the Holy Symbol or the Cross of War which made David powerful and invulnerable, the fight with Məsrā Melik (the Egyptian Sultan) and the victory over him, forcing the latter to pay tribute, David's activity in building, etc. But in this case the most valuable are the extraepic facts. According to them, the Kurdish governor of Sasun has taken from the grave of Khandut her anklets, and from the grave of David - his golden Holy Symbol (the Cross). David's lance and shield were kept in an old and small fortress near Hazo, which, naturally, had to be under the disposal of the Kurds. They had to know the epic history of the owners of these weapons. It means that except for the Armenians, at least in the 16th century, the Kurds of Sasun also knew the epic of David, traditional stories, knitted around him and Khandut, the reliability of which was based even on alleged material facts.

Therefore, we should not understand in a pure historical sense the evidence of Sharaf-khan that the governor of Bidlis and Hazo was certain David, one of the viceroys of Georgia, from whom the Ruzak clan won the Bidlis *vilayet* and Hazo, or the Kurdish brothers - the fortress of Sasun.⁵

In Armenian history, only David Bagratuni is known among princes named David of Sasun who lived in the IX century, when there were no Kurds in Sasun and its bordering districts. And the Georgian origin of David, or the evidence that Sasun ever belonged to the Georgians is nothing more than historical misunderstanding, because the Georgians never ruled in Sasun.⁶

All this means that Sharaf-khan in his mentioned records had in mind the traditional stories about the epic of David wide-spread among the Kurds of Sasun evidenced also by his contemporary Portuguese travellers.

As the traditional stories and legends about David were well known in the Kurdish media of Sasun and Bidlis in the XVI century, the epic David is considered a real historical person, and the two brothers from Khlāt, Izaddin and Zyaddin, were put in direct contact with David (they won from him Sasun fortress), we have to suppose that the episode of the two brothers passed from Armenian tradition to the Kurds namely by the epic "The Heroes of Sasun".

The story of the founders of Sasun fortress, Sanasar and Bagdasar, in Armenian epic tradition, according to historical evidence, widely spread in the late Middle Ages in areas inhabited by mixed Armenian-Kurdish population, particularly in Sasun and Khlāt, in all likelihood passed from the Armenians to the Kurds and became a subject of consequent adaptation. In the Kurdish environment it was connected with the ambitions of the Bidlis and Sasun Kurdish elite, was nationalized, and became an indispensable element of the archaization of the genealogy of the new owners of Bidlis and Sasun and substantiated their dominion. In fact, the tradition of the foundation of Sasun by its indigenous population has been transmitted to the new inhabitants of the area, with different historical memories, appropriate adaptations and changes. First of all, the epic and historical chronologies were inverted: the primary owner of Sasun, David, who, according to the Armenian epic tradition, was the successor and heir of the brother-founders of Sasun, in Kurdish folklore, under the influence of the new historical events, i.e. penetration and settlement of the Kurds in Sasun, was chronologically placed before the twin brothers, ethnically opposed to them, and transformed into the enemy from whom the brothers win Sasun, becoming the founders of new Kurdish clans.

The fact that in the XIX-XX centuries as well, "The Heroes of Sasun" epic was widely spread among the Kurdish inhabitants of the Armenian districts Sasun, Moks, Shatakh, Taron and Alashkert, also confirms that the story of the two brothers penetrated into Kurdish oral tradition through the mentioned epic. The late Prof. Hadjiye Djindi in the thirties wrote down a brief variant of "The Heroes of Sasun" in Kurdish and in the fifties - published it. While in 1973 we recorded from a 75-year-old Ali Fatilli, an inhabitant of the Kurdish village Ghondakhsaz in the Aragatz district of Armenia, a variant of "The Heroes of Sasun" in Kurdish (unpublished yet). According to the evidence of the narrator, he heard it from his

father Fatih Kotoyan, and the latter - from his own father Hamei, who immigrated to Ghondakhsaz from Alashkert. In Alashkert, Hamei learned the epic from Kurdish narrators. Fatih named the epic "T'əl David" ("Stammerer David") or "T'əl Davti' Hākāyt" ("Tale of Stammerer David"), sometimes - "Mheri Hākāyt" ("Tale of Mher").⁷ Armenian-Kurdish close historical and cultural relations are displayed also in other folkloric genres and subjects, particularly in the formation of an Armenian-Kurdish "Rustam Zal" epic that originates from "Shahnameh", but this is another point awaiting a special study.

NOTES

1. **Sanasun** (older **Sanasun**) was one of the districts (**gawats**) of province Aghdznik (Ałjnik''=Arzanere) in Historical Armenia (*see in detail: Tomascek*).
2. In Biblical Adrammelech researchers see one of Sennacherib's sons, Arad-Ninlim, in Sharezer (Arm. Sanasar) - Nabusharusur, the sovereign of Markash (=Marash) in 681 B.C. Being allies in the mentioned mutiny, they escaped to Urartu after suffering defeat (*Adonz, p. 130; HAP, p. 426*).
3. My friend Prof. Garnik Asatrian has drawn my attention to a very interesting version of the origin of the Ruzaki (**Rōžkī**) tribe attested in the travel-notes (Seyahat-name) of Evliya Çelebi (XVII century) and commented upon by Dutch scholar Martin van Bruinessen. According to M. van Bruinessen, "Evliya claimed that the Rojikī spoke a language that none of the other Kurds could understand, although they themselves knew all the other Kurdish dialects". Then, based on the linguistic analyses of a poem in "Rojikī language" cited by Evliya, M. van Bruinessen suggests that the Rojikīs, or at least their urbanized elite, spoke "a Turkish dialect with many Persian-Arabic and Armenian expressions. One wonders how such a language may have come into existence and been spoken by the people who proclaimed themselves Kurds". Concerning the history of the formation of the Ruzaki confederation the author writes: "The Rojiki had, according to their tradition, emerged as a political entity when in a single day (**rōžakī**) twenty four tribes of heterogeneous origins were confederated. Among these founders may well have been Turks and Armenians. But more important is the fact that their chieftains lived in the town of Bidlis, which not only had a large Armenian population, but also was located on the major trade route from Tabriz to Aleppo" (*Bruinessen, p. 10*). It is interesting that the number 24, constituting the clans included in this alleged confederation, according to Prof. G. Asatrian, although having, without doubt, a historical background, is rather a mythical figure, as 24 is a sacral number wide-spread in Oriental tradition.
4. The story by M. Afonso is notable for Armenian epic folklore. According to him, the defunct brother of the Kurdish governor of Sasun at that time was a tyrant, who killed his uncle and conquered Hazo in order to be favoured with the attention of one of the Great Turk's maidservants. It was just the same person who removed the Golden Cross from the tomb of David. God severely punished him: his whole body festered and he died in distress. When the tyrant's brother (at that time - the Kurdish governor of Hazo) saw that: "il éprouva un grand respect pour la croix en question, la fit déposer dans une église d'Arméniens, dans une forteresse au Sommet d'une montagne, à une demie "journada" au nord de Hizu (Hazo), et il leur verse une pension quotidienne pour alimenter en huile une lampe qui est toujours allumée devant elle (*i.e. Cross*)" (*Gulbenkian-Berbérian, p. 179*). This traditional story, is typologically identical with the subject of the second part of Armenian multivariant epic cycle **Karos Khač'** ("Parsley Cross"). The first part of this epic has an independent subject and tells how the shepherds had made a cross from parsley (or celery) and how it was endowed with miraculous power,

while Afonso's report speaks about removing the powerful Holy Symbol from the tomb of David of Sasun. The second part of the epic tells almost the same story as Afonso's, only with poetic language and epic exaggerations. The Kurdish prince steals the powerful Cross from the Armenians, places it in his palace and is severely punished for that: due to the power of the Cross, the thief, his baby-child, wife and others go mad. The Kurdish prince regrets his deed and promises many sacrifices and offerings to the Parsley Cross. In some variants of the epic the Cross does not accept the sacrifices and the Kurdish prince remains in distress. But in two variants the sacrifice is accepted and the prince with his family is saved from madness. The deeds of the two brothers in Afonso's story in the epic were ascribed to one person, but in different variants one can see shared consequences (in one case the Kurdish prince is punished forever, in another - the Cross returns to the Armenian Church, the offerings are accepted and the Kurd gets free of his madness).

In fact, Afonso's mentioned story attributed to David underlies the second part of the subject of the legend of the "Parsley Cross" which is proved also by the ethnographical areas over which it has spread: Moks, Taron, Vaspurakan (all are close to Sasun). In other words, the epic and the story are identical both typologically and almost geographically (in the ethnoregional sense) (see in detail: *Haroutyunian*).

5. By the way, another evidence of the epic origin of Sharaf-Khan's report is produced by the fact that he gives a number of theories about the mentioned episode, adding immediately after it that the "responsibility for the story is on the teller".
6. David, a Georgian or a Georgian viceroy in the Kurdish tradition probably is a historical memory of the fact that when in the mid XIII century the Tatars conquered Armenia, they gave Sasun to the Armenian prince, Sadun who was fighting in their ranks being the great-grandson of an Armenian prince, Kurt (by origin, probably, from Sasun), who had great privileges and large patrimonies in Georgia. Sadun from the beginning served in the Georgian army, and when the Tatars came he, like many other Armenian princes, joined the Tatar army. The government of Sasun was given to him by the Tatars (*Gandzaketsi*, pp. 208-209, 386; *Abeghian*, p. 370).
7. T'al - "Stammerer", a nickname that, according to the epic, David was given while he was tested by Məsrə Melik with fire and gold, when the baby David took the fire into his mouth, he burned his tongue and stammered. This name from the epic also comes from the Armenian tradition. Some variants of the epic were called by their narrators "Stammerer David and Mher", or "Stammerer David" (see: *"The Heroes of Sasun"*, NN 2,6,18,21).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| Abeghian - | Մ.Աբեղյան. Երկեր , հ.1. Երևան, 1965. |
| Adontz - | Ն.Ադոնց. Հայաստանի պատմություն . Երևան, 1972 |
| Arcruni - | Թովմայ Արծրունի. Ճարտարիկն իսկն Արծրունիաց .
Ս.Պետերբուրգ, 1887. |
| Asatrian - | Г.С.Асатрян. О ранних арменизмах в курдском. -
ИФЖ АН Армении, N2 (1986), сс. 168-175. |
| Bidlisi - | Шараф-хан ибн Шамсаддин Бидлиси. Шараф-Наме ,
т.1. Перевод, предисловие, etc. Е.И.Васильевой. М.,
1967. |
| Bruinessen - | M.van Bruinessen. The Kurds and their language in XVII
century: Notes of Evliya Çelebi on Kurdish dialects
(typewritten text). |

- Gandzaketsi -** Կիրակոս Գանձակեցի. *Պատմութիւն հայոց*. աշխատասիրությամբ Կ.Ա. Մելիք-Օհանջանյանի. Երեւան, 1961.
- Ghanalanian -** Ա.Ղանալանյան. *Ավանդապատում*. Եր., 1969 .
- Gulbenkian-Berbérian -** R.Gulbenkian, H.Berbérian. *La Légende de David de Sassoun d'après deux voyageurs portugais du XVI^e siècle.*- RĖArm., t.VIII(1971), pp.175-188.
- HAP -** Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն [History of Armenian People] , Հ.1. Եր., 1971.
- Haroutyunian -** Ս.Բ.Հարությունյան. "Կարոս իսաշ" վիպերգի մի միջնադարյան պատում.- ՀԽՍՀ ԳԱ Լրաբեր ՀԳ, N8 (1975).
- Haroutyunian-Bartikian** Ս.Բ.Հարությունյան, Հ.Մ.Բարթիկյան. «Սասնա ծռերի» արչագանձերը «Շարաֆ Նամեում».- ՊԲՀ, N2 (1975), էջ 90-104.
- "Heroes of Sasun"-** Սասնա ծռեր, հտ.1. հրատարակությունը Մ.Աբեղյանի – Կ.Մելիք-Օհանջանյանի.
- Khorenatsi -** Մովսիսի Խորենացու պատմութիւն հայոց. աշխատությամբ Մ.Աբեղեանի եւ Ս.Յարութիւնեանի. Տփղիս, 1913.
- Lastivertsi -** Արիստակես Լաստիվերտցի. *Պատմութիւն*. թարգմ.՝ Վ.Գետրգյանի. Եր., 1971.
- Luckenbill -** D.Luckenbill. *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, II. Chicago, 1927.
- Mamikonian -** Յովհան Մամիկոնեան. *Պատմութիւն Տարօնոյ*. աշխ. Ա.Արրահամյանի. Եր., 1941.
- Sebeos -** *Պատմութիւն Սիւրեոսի*. աշխատասիրությամբ Գ.Վ.Արգարյանի. Եր., 1979.
- Shternberg -** Л.Я.Штернберг. *Античный культ близнецов при свете этнографии*. Петроград, 1916.
- Tomascek -** W.Tomascek. *Sasun und das Quellengebiet des Tigris: Historisch-topographische Untersuchung.*- In: Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserl. Ak. d. Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosoph.-hist. Klasse. Bd 133. Wien, 1895.